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wife. That may simply have been an attempt to justify the fact that his wife was a good deal older than himself and that probably his sexual interests were minimal.

One of the prime requisites in a wife is that she be industrious. Whenever either men or women expressed what they considered the most prized qualifications in a partner, they generally agreed that women should work hard and that men should be rich. Obviously physical beauty enters also, but it is not a verbalized prerequisite. Beauty consists for both men and women of a light skin, small eyes, and wavy hair. In women firm, well-rounded breasts are admired and in men muscular strength. Actually it is extremely difficult to get a direct expression of judgment on anyone's appearance, since this belongs to the category of intimate remarks, of indiscretions, that it is essential to avoid. Early in my stay I threw a group of adults into considerable embarrassment by asking them to name the handsome men and women of the community. In the realm of physical attractiveness, cleanliness too is prized, and one of the indications of the adolescent interest in marriage is more frequent bathing and greater attention to hair combing. Once a woman marries and becomes a stable family member, too much cleanliness is looked upon askance as a token of flightiness.

The ideal, if not the normal matron is a woman who spends her whole working day in the field and in housework, minds her own business, is careless of her appearance, and goes to outlying fields with some reliable female companion. Needless to say, a great many women are not typical in this ideal sense of the word. Actually, vigorous, aggressive women who show masculine skills in finance and debate are referred to admiringly as men-women (*neng-mayoa*). Men with poor memories often rely on their wives to help them keep track of their financial involvements and they even send them on minor financial errands. Vice versa, men who possess female skills and aptitudes in gardening, gathering wood, cooking, and basketry may be referred to as women-men (*mayoa-neng*). Women usually speak with praise of a man who is skillful and diligent in horticulture and, contrariwise, women complain of men's lack of assistance in the fields almost as much as they do of their financial peccadilloes. In these cross-references from one sex to the other there are none of the derogatory connotations that go with our phrases of mannish woman or womanish man. It is evident, therefore, that theory stresses sex differences in activities, property ownership, and ideal types but that both sexes may, and often do, possess each other's capabilities without any particular onus being attached to the fact.

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754 [824] those willing to discuss the matter. A dead man's tooth powdered into food or mixed with tobacco is supposed to be deadly. A fly that alights on such food will die; therefore, finding a dead fly in food offered by people whose good will one has reason to suspect, arouses suspicions of an intent to poison. All interest in this field, as in the field of witchcraft, remains on a remote plane and is stimulated only by some ill fortune. I feel quite sure there was no general pervasive malaise in this connection.

[521] At a time when Maliseni and his brother were absent a good deal visiting a village on the west slope of Kalabahi Bay, people whispered that they were purchasing poison there. So far as I know, however, the matter was dropped as a subject of gossip after four or five days.

Witchcraft and poisoning are definitely not major problems and are only minor causes, among many, of illness and death. There is absolutely no attempt, such as one often finds in sorcery- and witchcraft-ridden areas, to conceal nail parings, excreta, and all personal effluvia. On page 88 there was an account of a woman who thought her husband had poisoned her by using a piece of areca-nut shell she had tossed away. In an area really preoccupied with poisoning no woman on bad terms with her husband and in a strange village would have been so careless. The interesting aspect of these matters of witchcraft and poisoning is that they are present but largely latent.

789 635 241 [578] The most frequently used form of malignant activity is the laying of curses. These, as we have already noted, may be directed by one individual against another. It is not done secretly; quite on the contrary, it constitutes a public declaration of hostility where personal relationships have reached the breaking point. More common is the impersonal use of curses, usually after one has been the victim of theft by an unknown person. Since there is very little property, except garden produce, whose owner is not generally known, most such protections against theft are to be seen in fields, near areca and coconut palms, or near the place where a child, too small to identify anyone, has been robbed. Toddlers often wear anklets with a bell or a single-strand cord belt on which coins or beads have been strung. If these are stolen, and not infrequently they are, a curse will be erected by an expert on the trail where the child usually plays. A common sight in gardens is a bamboo pole bearing one of a large possible variety of sickness insignia. These may be erected before one has been victimized, as a warning to a potential thief, or after one has been victimized, in order that the unknown thief may develop that particular illness.

685 789 An instance of such procedure may serve to make matters clearer. Fanseni Long Hair's son, a child of about two, had a coin stolen from

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If it curls around my mouth, I shall die." He blew out the smoke and it sailed out straight ahead. He said, "Now I shall live." But the seer sent his familiar spirit, and it took father's soul far off, and my father died. As I was holding my father in my arms I put my hand under his mouth, and a tooth dropped out into my hand. That was a sign that there would be another death soon, and in a short time mother died.

[How long was it before your mother died?] Mother died a year and a half after my father; it was two years ago. [How?] Padata the Leper and his wife separated. The wife married a kinsman of ours in Makangfokung. The Makangfokung people would not eat the food that the people of Karieta [Padata's village] cooked and vice versa. The Karieta people made magic against Makangfokung with their namoling stone. Makangfokung made magic against Karieta with their maheng spirit. Padata gave a feast and paid my mother for a shroud with a moko and rice. My mother carried them right through to the Makangfokung people, to our relatives. In Makangfokung the maheng spirit must have hit my mother, because she came home and was sick. She defecated blood. Mother was sick for two and a half months. [Which hurt most, your father's or your mother's death?] When mother died I cried for ten days. But I cried for ten days too when my father died. Whenever I went any place alone I would think and then cry a lot. I feel my mother and father were good because they gave birth to me. If they hadn't I wouldn't be here now. I am still here, so I feel I have a debt to pay. They fed me and gave me drink when I was small. I must pay that debt to them. I am raising three pigs now, and the next good year [1940] I shall give a death feast for both of them. That is the debt I must pay. I think and think of my father and mother. They slept together. Father used up all his semen. Mother was pregnant and had trouble because of me; people had to watch over her until I was born. I was small but she fed me. When I slept she made me comfortable; she had to clean up my feces. My mother and father went to work and had to come back to fondle me when I cried. Mother had to come back from the fields, from fetching water and firewood. Father would start someplace and I would cry, and he would have to come back to fondle me. When I was hungry they cut bananas for me. My maternal grandparents came bringing things and had to be fed. When I was still bloody [i.e., newly born] my mother had to sit in the house from four to six days with me. My mother had trouble because of me. Death feasts are to pay for all this care. [Pause. I felt throughout this speech that Fantan was saying something rehearsed, or was expressing just a standard

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about this, I said, "Good. Djetmani and I have already said we don't want to marry, so he is free." [Actually a few days before, she had joined forces with *Malleimai*, Djetmani's first wife, in attacking Falepangmau. This was the equivalent of insisting upon her status as one of Djetmani's wives. Her kinsmen dragged her away from the melee, saying that she was not one of Djetmani's wives, since he had never paid a legitimate bride-price for her.]

March 22, 1939

[No dreams. The usual difficulty in beginning. I asked her about tooth blackening, often a period of license for adolescents.]

First Manimai said, "Lomani and Marasta, you must have your teeth filed." So we went to Atafani, who took a file and cut our teeth. I began when the sun was just rising, and by midmorning I was finished. Then Marasta had hers cut. It was early afternoon when she was done. Then we each paid Atafani five cents. We got the money ourselves from selling corn in Kalabahi. Marasta had bought the file for thirty cents. Atafani told us to boil corn, and when the water came to a boil to put in the greens, and as soon as the greens were done to eat the corn while it was still a little hard. "This makes your teeth stronger." So we went home and did as he told us. We ate the corn to strengthen our teeth. That evening people said they were going to start blackening teeth the next day. The following afternoon all the young men gathered; Maitama, Fanma, Padclang, Padalani, all went to Alurkolohu to stay in a field house there. The boys told the girls to boil the fruit. We said, "And what shall we use for a pot?" They said, "Use half of this broken pot." So we said, "What shall we use for wood?" They answered, "Use cornstalks. If you use cornstalks, our lips won't get sore from the dye." So we cooked the fruit. Then we got kong kong and banana bark. The fruit we mashed, taking out all the skin and fibers. Then we mixed it with earth and made a cone of it. We cut off the top of the cone, just a little piece, and Fanma, one of the boys having his teeth blackened, tossed it in the air, saying, "Air [*abaling tama*, really midspace], do not let our mash be insufficient." Then he took another bit and tossed it on the ground, saying, "Sahiek [village of the dead], do not let our mash be insufficient." Next we cut and measured the banana-bark strips so they would fit our mouths and put the dye paste on them. This we did for seven days. The boys hunted rats and the girls pounded corn. When it was over, we went to bathe. We got arrows and pennies to pay the maker of the mash. There were fifteen